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COMMANDERS DIGEST

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C. Warren Nutter

Posture of Resolution, Strength Vital in Strategic Arms Talks

The United States has many problems affecting national security, but none more important than the chance to move from confrontation to negotiation with our principal antagonist — the Soviet Union.

But if we are to move to the conference table on such crucial matters as limitation of strategic arms, it is vital that the U.S. maintain a posture of resolution and strength.

"We simply cannot risk the dangerous consequences of negotiating from weakness," C. Warren Nutter, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, told the World Affairs Council of Dallas (Texas) recently.

"Above all," he said, "we must not be lulled into the dreamland of fancy, where wish dominates fact, hope overwhelms reason, and credulity sweeps aside prudence."

And while the U.S. moves toward the conference table, it finds that the Soviets are moving forward with a rapid build-up of strategic forces reaching beyond their defensive needs and menacing the U.S. deterrent of nuclear warfare.

"I speak here not of surmise or speculation on our part," Mr. Nutter said, "but of simple fact. It is a simple and unassailable fact, attested by hard evidence, that the Soviet Union is extending its deployment of

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Cooperation of All Elements Needed for National Security

While citing the 3.5 million citizens in active military service in his Armed Forces Day speech, Secretary of the Air Force Robert C. Seamans Jr. told members of the New Orleans, La., Chamber of Commerce, "Our Armed Forces are not only the guardians of our national security, but the bulwark behind which our government is seeking to advance the cause of a lasting peace."

He said, "We must maintain military leadership that is both effective and compatible with our Democratic society."

Following are highlights from his speech concerning cooperation for national security:

President Nixon has said that "Peace has been the first priority" of the new Administration — and it continues as such. He has sought to press forward toward a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam War; to put new life into the Western Alliance; to dampen down the conflicts in the Middle East; to expand the range of consultation and cooperation; both with our allies and the Soviet Union; and to prepare for serious arms-control talks with the Soviet Union.

While we hope that exploratory talks with the Soviets on strategic arms limitations can begin soon, we are likely to be successful only if the major countries involved are convinced they can gain nothing by con-

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Robert C. Seamans Jr.

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION—Commanders of the U. S. national missile ranges confer at Headquarters, Pacific Missile Range, Point Mugu, Calif. Left to right are: Col. R. F. Todd, USAF; Brig. Gen. M. W. Elliott, USAF; Maj. Gen. C. J. Kronauer, Jr., USAF; RAdm. Marshall W. White; Col. David M. Jones, USAF; Brig. Gen. Ivey O. Drewry, USA; and Brig. Gen. Alton D. Slay, USAF. This was the 34th meeting of the Range Commander's Council held at the range. The meetings are held to enable range commanders of national ranges and related service ranges to discuss common problems and lend mutual assistance in solving problem areas.

Posture of Resolution, Strength Vital in Arms Talks

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the SS-9 intercontinental ballistic missile. This enormous missile is capable of delivering a 25-megaton warhead."

He asked the audience to reflect on the destructive power of such a weapon, and then explained that "a 25-megaton warhead is twelve hundred and fifty times as powerful as the atomic weapon released at Hiroshima.

"What possible need is there for such a weapon in the arsenal of deterrence? The only prudent assumption," he said, "is that it could be designed to destroy our retaliatory Minuteman missile in its hardened silo."

Mr. Nutter noted that at the same time, the Soviet Union is expanding its Polaris-type submarine fleet at the rate of seven or eight submarines a year, and that rate can easily be accelerated on the basis of installed capacity. "This development," he said, "threatens the safety of our strategic bombing force if it were to be caught on the ground."

He said the U.S. could not know what the Soviet leaders intended to do, "but we can appreciate what they are capable of doing."

It is the responsibility of the Defense Department to guard against the capabilities of an adversary, and in fulfilling this responsibility, he said, "we cannot blink the fact that, if the present Soviet weapons build-up continues at its current pace, and improvements are made in them that are already technically feasible, our strategic deterrent and retaliatory force will be in critical jeopardy by the mid-1970's."

The head of ISA emphasized one point: "There is no doubt that we have a credible deterrent today. That point is not at issue," he said. "What is at issue is whether we maintain that deterrent unimpaired — not today, not tomorrow, but in the period beginning in the mid-1970's. What is at issue is whether we discourage efforts to erode the credibility of our deterrent, by demonstrating our will and ability to maintain it."

He said that if the U.S. takes no countering action now and simply permits the Minuteman missiles and strategic bombers to become vulnerable, "the credibility of our deterrent would be diminished with serious consequences for our national security and our hopes for peace."

Dealing in specifics, the Assistant Secretary said that "if we did not respond to the developing threat, we would have to place all our eggs in the Polaris basket. To rely solely on the Polaris/Poseidon weapon system, however much confidence we now have in its survivability and effectiveness, would be to run an unacceptable risk.

"The problem confronting an adversary who contemplated an attack against us," he continued, "would be greatly simplified, and he would be tempted to develop a first-strike capability against us. The effectiveness of our diplomatic policies would be undermined and crises would become increasingly unstable. The adversary might believe that he could significantly reduce damage to his homeland in a nuclear exchange by striking first against our land-based forces."

For all these reasons, he said, the U.S. has consistently appreciated the wisdom of maintaining an independent retaliatory capability in each component of its nuclear forces — missiles, strategic bombers, and submarines.

Mr. Nutter said he had concluded from a review of ABM defenses that there is no foreseeable way of preventing catastrophic damage to the U.S. from the sort of heavy nuclear attack that the Soviet Union is capable of launching.

". . . we must rely on our retaliatory capability to deter such an attack. But we can have an extra measure of protection against the kind of light nuclear attack that China will probably be capable of launching in the 1970's. That protection in the form of the Safeguard system," he said, "can be provided at an acceptable cost."

SURPRISE VISITOR — Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird lunches with First Sergeant Annelouise Koke during a visit to the new Tri-Service Consolidated Barracks, Fort Myer, Va. Secretary Laird lunched with servicemen and women.

New Traffic Control Units Under Development by AF

The Air Force has a new tactical air traffic control system under development that is expected to land future military aircraft in a safer manner, even under the most adverse weather conditions.

Known as AN/TPN-19 Landing Control Central, the system will consist of two radars, displays, microwave links and communications equipment. It is being developed by Ratheon Company's Equipment Division under a recent award of $28.5 million. This is the first phase of a development and production contract.

The system will be designed for rapid deployment at any type of military airfield and for use under varied conditions. The basic configuration will have a terminal area surveillance radar, a precision approach radar and an operations center in three easily transported shelters.

Army To Close Five Nike Hercules Sites

In a move expected to save $3.6 million a year, the Army announced May 14 that five Nike Hercules firing sites will be closed during Fiscal Year 1970.

The sites are located at Milwaukee; Detroit; Warrington, Pa.; Carleton, Mich.; and Felicity, Ohio.

Reliance on Education Needed To Overcome Today's Problems

In expressing his concern for the "education gap" of today, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird said May 10, "In any long-range view, education must be our chief reliance for overcoming most of the problems that beset us."

Speaking at dedication ceremonies of the North Central Technical Institute at Wausau, Wisc., Secretary Laird noted, "In the lifetime of every adult in this audience we have witnessed a technological revolution which, along with great benefits, has also brought some tragic consequences.

"It has made the uneducated and unskilled worker obsolete. It has left behind many older workers who lacked the opportunity, the ability, or the incentive to undertake retraining. It has meant unemployment rates approximating those of the bleak years of the 1930's for young people who dropped out of school too soon or for other reasons lacked skills when they entered the job market."

Mr. Laird said the nation's schools bear some of the responsibility for these unhappy consequences. He noted that the "education gap" is the gap between the academic world and the world of work. "It is the failure to provide a bridge connecting the classroom with the office, factory or farm."

Secretary Laird said the elimination of the education gap has high priority on the agenda for the nation prepared by President Nixon. "In recent years there has been a bewildering proliferation of manpower training programs in Washington designed to overcome this problem. Because they have been scattered, fragmentary, often duplicative and overlapping, they have been wasteful and, to a degree, ineffective."

He mentioned that in addition to substantial administrative reorganization already accomplished, President Nixon soon will send to Congress a Comprehensive Manpower Act. "It will be designed to replace the present hodgepodge of programs with one coordinated system that overlooks no one who might benefit from training and makes maximum use of the knowledge and resources of private enterprise.

"The new act is the result of careful and objective study of the strengths and weaknesses of existing programs as well as of the alternatives which might be used to provide maximum effective training opportunities."

He said, "The important reforms which the present Administration is making in the tangle of national manpower training programs reflect the new philosophy and style which are beginning to assert themselves in Washington.

"Reflection now comes before action. Impulsive action, shooting from the hip, and panicky response to immediate crises are no longer the order of the day."

COMMANDERS DIGEST

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New Amphibious Ship Joins 20-Knot Force

A ship destined to be an integral part of a modern, balanced, 20-knot amphibious force was launched May 17 at Newport News, Va.

Named the "El Paso," she was built to transport and land combat vehicles, cargo and landing craft in support of an amphibious assault. Her flexibility and speed in transferring combat cargo to troops ashore is another feature.

She is the second ship of the Fleet to be named in honor of the city of El Paso, Tex. The first, PF-41, was a patrol vessel launched and commissioned in 1943. PF-41 was decommissioned in 1946 and sold in 1947.

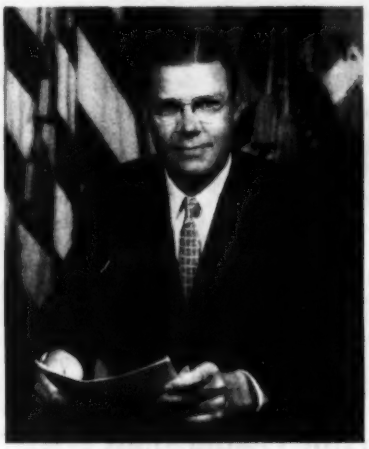
The Population Explosion

WORLD DILEMMA

World Bank President Robert S. McNamara recently appealed for a "humane but massive" reduction in the world rate of population growth. Population pressures, he pointed out, can lead to violence and bring on conflict among nations.

Speaking at the University of Notre Dame, the former Secretary of Defense explained that the population explosion is "seriously crippling" global economic development, in which the World Bank is vitally interested.

Following are excerpts from his address of May 1.



Robert S. McNamara
President of the World Bank

I want to discuss with you a problem that arose out of the recent past; that already plagues man in the present; and that will diminish, if not destroy, much of his future — should he fail to face up to it, and solve it.

It is, by half a dozen criteria, the most delicate and difficult issue of our era — perhaps of any era in history. It is overlaid with emotion. It is controversial. It is subtle. Above all, it is immeasurably complex.

It is the tangled problem of excessive population growth.

If there is anything certain about the population explosion, it is that if it is not dealt with reasonably soon, it will in fact explode: explode in suffering, explode in violence, explode in inhumanity.

My responsibilities as President of the World Bank compel me to be candid about the blunt facts affecting prospects for global development. The bluntest fact of all is that the need for development is desperate.

Two Billion Trapped

One-third of mankind today lives in an environment of relative abundance. But two-thirds of mankind — more than two billion individuals — remain entrapped in a cruel web of circumstances that severely limits their right to the necessities of life. They have not yet been able to achieve the transition to self-sustaining economic growth. They are caught in the grip of hunger and malnutrition; high illiteracy; inadequate education; shrinking opportunity; and corrosive poverty.

The gap between the rich and poor nations is no longer merely a gap. It is a chasm. On one side are nations of the West that enjoy per capita incomes in the $3,000 range. On the other are nations in Asia and Africa that struggle to survive on per capita incomes of less than $100.

To put it simply: the greatest single obstacle to the economic and social advancement of the majority of the peoples in the underdeveloped world is rampant population growth.

A Fantasy of Horror

It required 1,600 to double the world population of 250 million, as it stood in the first century A.D. Today, the more than three billion on earth will double in 35 years time.

To project the totals beyond the year 2000 becomes so demanding on the imagination as to make the statistics almost incomprehensible.

In six and a half centuries from now — the same in significant period of time separating us from the poet Dante — there would be one human being standing on every square foot of land on earth; a fantasy of horror that even the *Inferno* could not match.

Whatever may happen after the year 2000, what is occurring right now is enough to jolt one into action. India, for example, is adding a million people a month to its population — and this in spite of the oldest family-planning program in Southeast Asia.

The Philippines currently has a population of 37 million. There is no authorized government family-planning pro-

gram. At the present rate of growth, these limited islands — in a brief 35 years — would have to support over 100 million human beings.

Three Choices

If we are to reject mass starvation and political chaos as solutions to this explosive situation, then there are clearly only three conceivable ways in which a nation can deliberately *plan* to diminish its rate of population growth:

- to increase the death rate;
- to step up the migration rate;
- or to reduce the birth rate.

No one is in favor of the first choice. . . . The second choice is wholly inadequate. . . . We can put a man on the moon. But we cannot migrate by the millions off our planet. That leaves the third choice: a humane and rational reduction of the birth rate.

Is it feasible? It is. Is it simple? It is not. Is it necessary? Without question. It is necessary because the consequences of continuing the present population growth rates are unacceptable.

The consequences of rapid population growth — piled on top of an already oppressive poverty — must be grasped in all their concrete, painful reality.

The first consequence can be seen in the gaunt faces of hungry men. One half of humanity is hungering at this very moment. There is less food per person on the planet today than there was 30 years ago in the midst of a worldwide depression.

Thousands of human beings will die today — as they die every day — of that hunger. They will either simply starve to death, or they will die because their diet is so inadequate that it cannot protect them from some easily preventable disease.

Most of those thousands . . . are children. They are not mere statistics. They are human beings. And they are dying; now; at this very moment; while we are speaking. . . . And they are dying needlessly.

What Needs to be Done

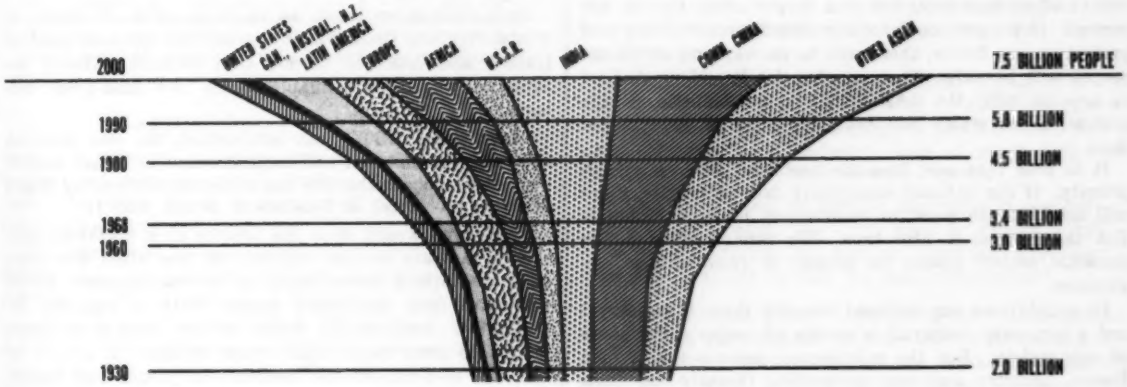
There is a pressing need for far more research in the socio-cultural aspects of family planning. There is manifestly a great deal more to population planning than merely birth control. Attitudes, motivation, preferences differ from country to country, and this essential research can clearly best be conducted locally. The developed nations should be generous in their financial support for such studies and surveys.

Family planning is going to have to be undertaken on a humane but massive scale. Other massive efforts in our century — for example, in the field of public health — have been mounted and have been successful. And granted all the difficulties, there is no insuperable reason this one cannot be.

The threat of violence is intertwined with the threat of undue population growth. It is clear that population pressures in the underdeveloped societies can lead to economic tensions, and political turbulence: stresses in the body politic which in the end can bring on conflicts among nations.

IN THE YEAR 2,000

WHERE THE PEOPLE WILL BE



Cooperation of All Elements Needed for National Security

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tinuing an arms buildup. Our potential enemies must realize that whatever they do, we will still be able to survive a surprise attack with sufficient strength to inflict unacceptable losses on the attacking nation.

Unfortunately, we must note on this occasion that the strategic threat to our security is rapidly increasing. The Soviets have built up their intercontinental missile force from a total of 250 in 1966 to some 1,150 now operational or under construction.

With their large SS-9 missiles, the Soviets will soon have about twice as much total missile payload—that is weight carrying capacity—as our missileforce, even including our advantage in submarine launched missiles.

In addition, the Soviets have already deployed an anti-ballastic missile system that includes some 60 long-range ABM missiles, and they are in the process of improving the effectiveness of their ABM technology.

Some say that we cannot protect our people from the effects of nuclear war, but in a larger sense that is not correct. If we provide for deterrence by maintaining and protecting our forces, there will be no war and all of our people will be safe. That is why the President decided to proceed with the SAFEGUARD anti-ballistic missile system, about which you hear and read so much these days.

It is true that our domestic problems deserve a high priority. If our national community fails internally, there will not be much point in maintaining national defenses. But the reverse is also true. We cannot improve our domestic society unless we protect it from outside aggression.

In maintaining our national security there is a natural and a necessary cooperation among all major components of our society. But the relationship among the Armed Forces, industry and our universities recently has been much condemned. Criticism arises partly as a result of

"We must maintain military leadership that is both effective and compatible with our democratic society."

frustration over long years of Cold War struggle and the human and financial costs of the Vietnam War, partly due to increasing concern over our growing domestic needs, and partly, I think, because of impatience over an increasingly, institutionalized way of life.

Some of our university students have taken part in recent disorders aimed at visible symbols of the so-called "Establishment," at recruiters for industry, at government research contracts and, most recently, at the Reserve Officer Training Corps programs.

A radical element sees ROTC as a vulnerable target, which, if brought down, can weaken the existing system the radicals claim to despise. It would be futile to argue with this group, doctrinaire as it is, and with its unrealistic fixations as to what the real world is like or should be.

But there are other sincere people who say that the ROTC does not belong properly in the universities. Some of them feel that it is incompatible with the purposes of higher education. To those who honestly doubt the place of ROTC, I would make several points. First of all, military training on civilian university campuses has a long and honored tradition in America. It is that of the university-educated citizen who feels the duty to be prepared to help lead his fellow citizens as soldiers when the country needs them. Noblesse oblige may be an outmoded concept today, but responsibility is not.

Thomas Jefferson, who took great pride in being known as the "Father of the University of Virginia," wrote to James Monroe in 1813 that:

"We must . . . make military instruction a regular part of collegiate education. We can never be safe until this is done."

Such instruction began as early as 1819. However, it was during the Civil War when we felt the sore need of trained and educated officers that Federal military instruction was made available to the new land-grant colleges.

Later, after ROTC was established, the one hundred thousand graduates it had commissioned by Pearl Harbor were the indispensable nucleus of the citizen's army which defeated the forces of Fascism in World War II.

Those who would raise the specter of a mythical militarism rampant in this country are too often the same ones who attack the infusion of civilian-educated ROTC graduates into our officer ranks. This is logically indefensible. Abolition of ROTC in the interest of peace makes no more sense than would oblition of schools of law and medicine in the interests of justice and health. These are all professions dedicated to the preservation of our society and its well-being.

We must maintain military leadership that is both effective and compatible with our democratic society. When, as now, our universities supply a large part of both the undergraduate and graduate education of our officers, our civilian values cannot help but influence the military contribution to problems of national defense.

In similar fashion, we must maintain a technological base that is adequate to support both our national defense and our domestic society. We cannot provide the necessary weapons for defense without the help of university research laboratories, as well as the production facilities of industry.

The disappearance of a dynamic and interacting relationship between defense research and the campuses would mean a decline in our technological abilities, with a possible shift in the technological balance between the U.S. and its adversaries. Additionally, having university scientists who are knowledgeable on defense research matters

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VISITOR—Major General D. C. Jones, USAF, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Seventh Air Force, in the Republic of Vietnam, is given a bird's eye view of flight deck operations from the USS Bon Homme Richard's primary flight control center by Rear Admiral Roy M. Isaman (right), division commander.

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insures a balanced, objective and often critical view as to what programs we should pursue. This would be less likely the case, if all research and development were carried on only in government or industry laboratories.

The critics of defense-sponsored university research fail to make the primary intellectual distinction between research — the acquisition of knowledge, and technology — the use of that knowledge. There is a significant difference, since our contracts with the campus are mostly concerned with basic research. The percentage of classified or secret research on campus, once high after World War II, has been reduced until it is now less than four percent of defense-sponsored university research. As a matter of policy, basic research contracts are not classified and there are no constraints on publication. This doesn't lend much substance to the picture some critics try to create of the defense-sponsored scientist working behind maximum security on science fiction horror weapons.

Instead, there has been a harmonious and mutually rewarding relationship between the Department of Defense and the university. Nor does the former support the latter to the extent that academe is in danger of losing its independence. As late as 1952, 75 percent of all Federal funds came from Defense, but in the years since, other agencies have expanded their programs, so that today the Defense share is only about 15 percent.

The present relationship is a healthy one. It prevents the Defense establishment from becoming isolated in its knowledge, it provides our scientists with continuous access to new ideas, which originate on the campuses. And the campuses can view and criticize knowledgeably what the Defense scientific community does, so that our military system is as economic and effective as possible.

Much of the research which the university performs for defense finds its way readily into the civilian sector, improving the quality of our life. Military radar, for example, has been greatly improved at MIT, and is now indispensable to our modern civilian air transportation systems. By the same token, the work of military researchers has benefited our society, for instance, Walter Reed's solution of the scourge of yellow fever or the development of irradiated foods in our day. Similarly, work done by industry for national defense has benefited the entire economy, ever since Eli Whitney developed interchangeable parts for Army muskets during the war of 1812, making possible mass production techniques.

Nonetheless, there are those who find something sinister in the relationship between industry and the armed forces. They have revived an excerpt from the late President Eisenhower's farewell address to warn of potential dangers of the "military-industrial complex." This has become a catch phrase and by some it has been expanded and hyphenated further to include the university and labor and so on until the phrase itself has become complex.

In context, however, what President Eisenhower did was to call attention to the novelty in American experience of a large permanent military establishment and a large peacetime arms industry, both of which had been called into existence because, and I quote,

> *"A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction."*

The late President went on to recognize the imperative need for the development of large armed forces and defense industry, while warning of the implications. He did not suggest that, in view of the threat we have long faced, we could or should dismantle either or break their necessary relationship.

We who are managing defense needs and those in uniform whom we justly honor today realize that we must have not only adequate national defenses, but also a healthy democratic society. We must have both. We must have the arms and technology to keep our citizens alive and free, and we must also meet their urgent social and environmental needs. The Defense Department is cooperating in such endeavors — it has pioneered in advances in education, in job training and in equal rights to housing, for example.

By such cooperation among all of us, among all elements of our society — business, labor, science, university, military, Government — we can assure what President Eisenhower called for in his farewell address when he said:

> *"Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."*

Sees Communications As A Two-Way Street

Secretary Laird Believes People Entitled to Defense Information

Communication between government and people is all important under the democratic system and the people have a right to know what their government is doing and why it is doing what it does, proclaimed Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, May 14.

And above all, he believes this right must be exercised about defense matters no matter how complicated they might seem.

Speaking before a DOD Seminar for non-governmental organizations at Fort Myer, Va., Mr. Laird said that more than any other agency, DOD deals in questions of life and death and receives more of the national revenues than any other agency.

But he sees communications as a two-way street. He said he hoped the audience would have a better understanding of the problems in DOD and that the seminar would provide DOD personnel a better understanding of the mood and the wishes of the people of the U.S.

Secretary Laird said his department has been suffering from a lack of credibility and added:

"This concerns me greatly and I intend to do everything possible to restore its credibility. Full and free

"I will not tolerate any cover-up or distortion of information."

access to defense information will be permitted so long as it does not endanger national security.

"As Secretary of Defense," he said, "I will not tolerate any cover-up or distortion of information."

On the subject of defense spending, Secretary Laird said he wanted to see it cut. "I have already reduced the defense appropriation request of the Johnson Administration for the next fiscal year by more than $3 billion and anticipated expenditures by more than $1 billion. And I am not through yet," he said.

But he said he didn't want to raise false hopes that the defense needed for the establishment of peace today can be bought cheaply. "I particularly want to caution against the short-sighted type of economy in which the nation indulged in the 1930s."

Secretary Laird recalled that in 1939, the year World War II began, the nation spent only one per cent of its gross national product for defense. As a result, he said, we were in no position to prevent the catastrophe that Hitler brought upon the world nor were we in any position to fight effectively for a year or more after Pearl Harbor.

Obviously, he said, we did not truly save by keeping

"To reduce spending below the level needed to provide an effective deterrent to war now and for the future is a spurious form of economy."

defense spending low in the 1930s. All the financial "savings" of a decade evaporated in one month's war time spending—not to mention one million Americans killed and wounded in the course of the war.

"To reduce spending below the level needed to provide an effective deterrent to war now and for the future is a spurious form of economy," the Secretary said.

Also, he noted, that remark "has particular application now as the nation and the Congress debate the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile proposal of President Nixon.

"Prudence requires that we begin now on the deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system capable of protecting our deterrent against the kind of attack which the Soviet Union could be in a position to launch in the mid-1970s if it continues on its present course.

"For example, our experts believe that the Soviet Union could develop the capacity to put out of action some 95 per cent of our long-range missile silos if we do not defend against that possibility.

"I wish it were possible to wait a year or two to see whether or not the Soviet capacity continues to develop in the direction it is now going. But there is an inevitable time lag between our decision to deploy an ABM system and the realization of an operational capability for the first part of that system. This time lag will be more than four years.

"Consequently, only by making our decision now can we be assured of a defense against a potential peril in the mid-1970's. 'Too little and too late' has been the epitaph of more than one great nation in history. It must not be ours," he asserted.

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